



Published for, and under the Direction of T. ROR, April, 1798.

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THE
VOYAGES, DISTRESSES
AND
ADVENTURES
OF
CAPT. WINTERFIELD.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

CONTAINING

An Account of his Transactions in *America* during the War; his disastrous Voyage to *England*, in which he had the Misfortune to be taken by an Algerine Man of War, near the Coast of *Portugal*, and carried to *Barbary*, where he remained in Slavery upwards of Six Years; his miraculous Escape from thence, with Five more, in a Canvas Boat of their own Construction, and safe Arrival at *Majorca*; with several remarkable Circumstances after his Captivity; and his safe Arrival at last in *Scotland*.

A NEW EDITION.

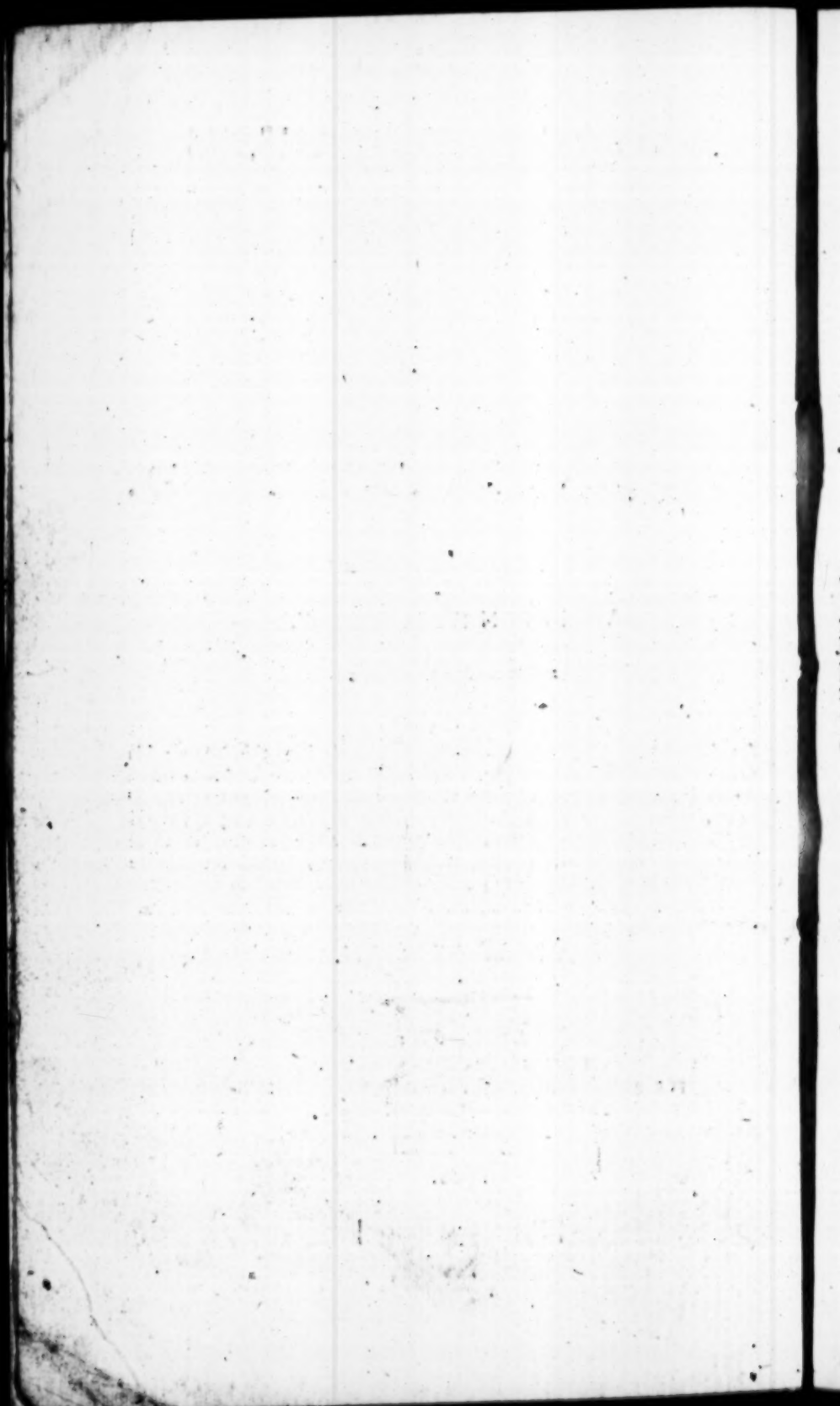
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THE

Adventures of Capt. Winterfield.

IT will be totally irrelevant to the present purpose, to trouble my readers with any of the particulars of the juvenile part of my life: I shall therefore proceed to those points which more immediately laid the foundation of my misfortunes, by the loss of a most amiable wife, about six weeks after Providence had blessed us with the first pledge of our mutual love in a daughter.

This unhappy event, which happened in my twenty-fifth year, in my native country of Scotland, produced a settled melancholy, which nothing could divert, or even time efface from my mind: nor could the arguments of friends, or the still more powerful advocate of a youthful constitution, naturally disposed to share the joys of social and domestic life, prevail on me to renew those vows which death had so fatally dissolved.

My mother, who was a most exemplary character, had for some years been a widow; and that turn for gaiety, which had accelerated the death of a beloved husband, had at the same time reduced her from a state of competence to hardly a bare existence. The old lady, therefore, now lived with me; and she endeavoured, by the kindest offices, and the most unremitting attention, to sooth that affliction in which she was but too well qualified to sympathize. She represented to me the consolation she had herself derived from the possession of a child whose affectionate regards had in time reconciled her to life, and pointed out the most

flattering resemblances in our respective situations. My attention was perpetually directed to some new discovered attraction in my little Penelope; but though every communication of this nature apparently gave me a temporary happiness, yet I never failed on such occasions to pay dearly in private for the reflections they as constantly produced, on the inestimable value of those charms of which I was for ever deprived.

In this state of mind I remained on half-pay till the commencement of the American contest; when my regiment was put into commission, and ordered on that service. At this period my daughter had attained her tenth year; and presented every day a stronger resemblance of her departed mother, as well in personal as mental accomplishments. A fortnight only was allowed me to prepare for my embarkation; and frequently, in this painful interval, though not without firmness, my cheek glowed with the consciousness of those tears, which the powerful operations of nature forced from their latent spring, as I pressed to my bosom my only child, with all the heartfelt forebodings of parental apprehension; and often did her little watchful eye mark the progress of the full tear, and printing with her quivering lip the track which it had pursued, inquire the unconscious cause in accents of evident anguish, and with looks of yet stronger expression. From the moment in which the unwelcome summons had arrived, my mother ceased not to intreat me that I would avail myself of the plea of indisposition, to which I was so fully entitled, as the only means of remaining at home, where my health was alone likely to be re-established; but I disdained to listen to motives which might leave my reputation liable to the smallest suspicion, and prepared with alacrity to obey the call of honour.

Having made the necessary arrangements, I took leave of my affectionate mother, and my dear little girl, with that mournful kind of adieu, which seems to relinquish the hope of ever again beholding the objects from which the suffused eye unwillingly turns away. For a few moments I folded them in my arms; and recommending them to the mercy of Heaven, with a sigh, which I vainly endeavoured to suppress, I hastened from all I held dear, without once daring to look back; and, fortifying myself against those sounds of anguish which fancy presented loudly to my ear, went on board the transport which was to convey the

troops across the Atlantic, and arrived safe in America, after a passage of about six weeks.

It was not till after my departure, that Mrs. Winterfield experienced the full force of grief. In her kind efforts to console my affliction, she had, as it were, experienced a cessation of her own anguish; but now, far from endeavouring to repress the conflict in her bosom, she abandoned herself to sorrow, and wept almost incessantly, till the fatal account arrived of the battle of Bunker's Hill, where so many British officers seemed cruelly selected for slaughter; when, not at all doubting that my name was included in the list, her agony increased to such a height, that she became instantly distracted, and continued in that most melancholy of all situations upwards of six months, before she could possibly be satisfied that I still lived; nor would she at last have been convinced, had she not received an incontrovertible evidence of my safety under my own hand.

In the mean-time I contracted the strictest intimacy with my superior officer, Colonel Bellinger, who never failed to consult me on every affair of moment, whether of a private or a professional nature.

The colonel was about eight years younger than myself; he was likewise a native of North Britain; but married a lady of immense fortune in England, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. His chief residence, when at home, was in the county of Norfolk. The lady of Colonel Bellinger doated on him to distraction, and continually implored him to quit a profession so unfavourable to their loves, and the necessity of pursuing which had been happily prevented by the kindness of fortune; but the nice and delicate feelings of a soldier's honour prevented his acquiescence in a request of this nature, though his denials cost him many a pang. He often communicated to me the source of his regrets; but he was strengthened in his resolution by the approbation of a heart which, though tender as that of an infant, was equally a stranger to fear or deceit.

For upwards of four years we constantly fought together, and neither of us had received the least hurt. About this time, however, I was slightly wounded in the leg, as we went out together to reconnoitre; but in less than three months the wound was entirely healed.

My fears had been awakened by this accident, for the situation of my Penelope and her grandmother, to such a degree as to produce a violent fever; and the colonel, who

never ceased to visit me at least once a day during my confinement, having discovered the cause of my anxiety, which a becoming delicacy had prompted him as much as possible to conceal, charged himself, on the honour of a soldier, with the care of Mrs. Winterfield, and my little daughter, should that event take place at any future period, which he doubted not I should happily escape on the present occasion. The kindness and generosity of this assurance contributed more to my speedy recovery than all the efforts of the surgeon, the utmost exertions of whose skill had hitherto been baffled by the mental disease of his unhappy patient.

Shortly after my recovery, an expedition up the country was projected, and it was executed by us with success. In our return, however, an accident occurred which had nearly proved fatal to the colonel. Having dispersed every appearance of an enemy, while we one day halted to relieve the soldiers from the fatigue of a long march, the colonel, who was remarkably fond of fowling, proposed an excursion for that purpose in a neighbouring wood. Myself and two other officers were of the party; and we agreed to divide two and two, and not to penetrate more than half a mile or a mile at farthest, without forming a junction at that distance, as nearly central as possible from the spot where we set out.

The colonel and I were together; and we had not proceeded more than five or six hundred yards, when we were alarmed by a general discharge of musquetry. On advancing towards the spot from whence the sound proceeded, we discovered six armed savages engaged with the officers from whom we had just separated. A couple of savages likewise lay wounded on the ground; and the colonel and me leveling our pieces brought two more to the earth: the other four, terrified at this unexpected stroke, fled with precipitation towards a thicket where the colonel was stationed; and before he or I could reload, had beat him down with their muskets, and would in a few minutes have dispatched him with their tomahawks, had not I and the other two officers, with desperate resolution, immediately rushed to his assistance, and each of us transfixed an assailant with our bayonet. There was now only one left; and he would have proved sufficiently formidable for the destruction of the colonel, against whom his arm was already raised, had not I, with great presence of mind, relinquished my musket; and, springing on the savage among the bushes,

brought him instantly to the ground ; while one of the officers, who had by this time disengaged his bayonet, plunged it into his body.

The colonel had received two violent contusions on his head, and was otherwise much bruised and wounded in struggling with the savages. I bound up his wounds ; and, with the assistance of some officers, carried him to his tent, where the skull being examined by the chief surgeon, it was found to be terribly fractured in two places.

A party of men were now sent to search the wood, and to bring an account of the savages ; and I gave particular directions, that if either of them yet survived, he might be brought into the camp, and, if possible, cured of his wounds, as the means of discovering whether this ambuscade had been treacherously formed ; instances having often occurred in the course of this unhappy war, where the affectation of loyalty had occasioned a fatal confidence in the unsuspecting soldier, who was frequently drawn into such situations, by these diabolical machinations, which admitted no possibility of escape.

During this time, Colonel Bellinger grew rather worse than better ; and the surgeon, despairing of reducing the principal fracture, recommended the application of the trepan, which the colonel vehemently opposed. I perceiving that the cure would probably be as much defeated by the adoption of an operation, to which he could by no means submit without the most alarming apprehensions, as from the total neglect of this measure, however professionally adviseable, seconded the colonel's resolution with much apparent confidence ; asserting, that I had known worse fractures totally healed, by a more patient process, under a far less skillful surgeon. This declaration had its full effect both with the surgeon and his patient : the former politely, though faintly, acquiesced in foregoing his intention, under a bare possibility, as a return for my compliment to his ability ; and the latter, tranquillized by assurances so consonant to his wishes, subdued by degrees that impatience and perturbation of mind which had greatly contributed to retard his cure.

Colonel Bellinger, in his first intervals of recollection, after expressing his gratitude to me for an attachment which he could never reward, had pressed upon me the acceptance of an instrument, in which he bequeathed me the sum of three thousand pounds, as a testimonial of his

friendship. Indeed, I was perpetually with him; and the knot of amity was, if possible, still closer drawn, as well by the dangers and sufferings we had both experienced, as from the kind consolation we had in our turns mutually received and administered.

The colonel had been confined to his tent about ten weeks, when word was one morning brought by the officer who commanded a foraging party the preceding evening, consisting of twenty men, that a band of at least a hundred savages had chased them to within half a league of the camp, and appeared to be on the look-out for small parties. I expressed my indignation at being harrassed by these petty assailants; and immediately ordering out a hundred men to follow, unperceived at a small distance, I advanced myself with only ten towards the spot where they were first discovered. This was near five miles distant from the camp: and we had not proceeded far beyond the place which had been described, when upwards of a hundred savages suddenly appeared, and came on to the attack with great fury. My little party made a shew of retreating, but still kept up a running fire, till I perceived my corps de reserve, when they immediately turned on the pursuers; and after leaving near thirty dead on the field, put the rest totally to flight. We now continued the pursuit, and had just come up within reach of the fugitives, when a new ambuscade, consisting of at least fifteen hundred, suddenly issued forth from an adjoining wood, and in an instant cut off the foremost of our party. I escaped, but not without difficulty, and brought to my companions the disagreeable news of a defeat, though opposed by a gallant resistance, and the loss of almost the whole of my company.

I received several wounds during this engagement; and the next day was seized with a fever, which continued with unabated violence for three weeks, at the end of which time my wounds were in a most hopeful way, and promised fair for a speedy recovery; but my exertions to serve the colonel on a particular occasion having made me catch cold, I fell into a relapse, which threw me into a more dangerous way than ever, and the surgeon despaired of a recovery. But youth and a good constitution, however, in about six months so far prevailed, that my wounds were nearly healed; and I was advised by my surgeon to go to Europe. To this request General Cornwallis did not in the least object: he had a long while beheld, with concern, my afflictions,

and resolved, the first opportunity that should present itself, to gratify my desire of visiting my friends in Europe. An occasion soon offered for these services to my native country: some dispatches of a private nature being to be brought to England, I was the man pitched upon to bring the packet to the court of London.

After having taken a solemn farewell of the colonel, my good friend, I set off on my journey, and arrived soon after at New York, from whence I embarked for Old England.

Nothing remarkable occurred at the beginning of the voyage. I was in high spirits at the idea of once more beholding my dear Penelope and her grandmother, and rejoiced to think I should surprize them agreeably, not having previously informed them of my coming to England.

It was in the depth of winter, a season when the Atlantic Ocean is particularly dangerous; and the vessel having only a single deck, was very uncomfortable; and, very far from being a quick sailer, made very little way amidst those heavy seas, often shipping so much water, that her hands could scarce keep her above water, and sometimes losing our canvas by the heavy squalls which succeeded a few hours of moderate weather.

Having nearly ran out our reckoning, we began to look out for land, which we expected to be the northern part of Ireland. However, matters assumed quite a different aspect; and the weather proving still worse, our standing jib, a very old one, but our last, was blown to ribbons; and having none left on board, with great difficulty we unbent the remaining part of the sail, and mended it in the best manner the weather would permit.

The violence of the weather still continuing, we went under an easy sail, a double reefed mainsail and jib. Nevertheless, soon after, two pair of our foremast main shrouds, on the larboard side, were carried away, being old and unable to resist the severity of the weather. On this we immediately set up stoppers; and got a runner and tackle as a support to the mast; lying to under a ballanced mainsail, as it blew extremely hard. The next day, the wind shifting to the W. N. W. and blowing more violently, we wore ship, and laid her head to the southward; but about eight o'clock in the morning our two fore main shrouds, on the starboard side, were carried away, which obliged us to get up another runner and tackle for the additional security of the mast. For several days the weather was intolerably bad,

the seas excessively heavy; and the continued peals of thunder joined to our incapacity of carrying any sail, unless for a few hours, threw a horror over our situation, which is not to be conceived by any but those who have unhappily experienced something like those circumstances.

During all this time I had but little rest either of body or mind. My anxiety to reach my native country, and my desire to fulfil my commission, which I knew would raise my character and fortune, made me very uneasy at the disappointment I experienced in the severe vicissitude of the weather, which all along militated against my sanguine wishes and expectations.

We had been now at sea upwards of two months without speaking to any other ship, or seeing any land. The weather began to moderate, though the change did not carry the appearance of any great duration; and, indeed, next day, to our unspeakable mortification, it came on to blow as hard as ever at W. N. W. so that our fore stay and fore sheets were not only torn away, but the fore-sail itself rent in pieces; and what added considerably to our loss, was the not having any other to put in its place. In this situation we lay to, as before, under a double reefed main-sail, the impetuosity of the storm still continuing, and the sea rolling mountains high, and we all expecting that the vessel would prove leaky, as she strained inconceivably hard.

Scudding away, however, on the following day, under the square sail, about two in the morning, the tack unfortunately happening to give way, this sail was torn all to tatters, so that we were also obliged to cut that from the yard, and heave to immediately under bare poles, till the main-sail was balance reefed. One misfortune is generally the forerunner of another; at least we found it so; for while we lay to in the same gale of wind which destroyed our square sail, the flying jib blew overboard from a new set of points, although it was a new sail, and made of top gallant duck. Notwithstanding all these accidents, we made some little way at intervals, under an easy sail, till being attacked by another violent gale, a dreadful sea broke two of our main chain-plates, and shattered our foresail to such a degree as to render it utterly unserviceable. The only bit of canvas we had now left was the mainsail, which we backed, and lay to, having no prospect whatever before us, but what was pregnant with the bitterest distress; for the conflict which our vessel had so long maintained against

waves and winds, had by this time occasioned her to leak excessively; and our provisions were so much exhausted, that we found it absolutely necessary to come to an immediate allowance of two pounds of bread a week for each person, besides a quart of water and a pint of wine a day. The alternative was really deplorable, between the shortness of our provisions, and the wreck of the sloop. If we kept the latter from sinking, we were in danger of perishing with hunger; and if we contrived to spin out the former with a rigid perseverance of economy for any time, there was but little probability of our being able to preserve the ship. Thus, on either hand, little less than a miracle could save us from inevitable destruction. If we had one accidental gleam of comfort on the one hand, the fate with which the other so visibly teemed, gave an instant check to our satisfaction, and obscured every rising ray of hope with an instant cloud of horror and despair.

We met, indeed, two vessels, one from Jamaica for London, and another to Dublin from New York, who would probably have relieved us, had there been a possibility in so severe a gale to open any communication from ship to ship. All they could do was to speak to us; a circumstance which the reader's own imagination must naturally suppose did not a little add to our misery. Disappointed of succour in this instance, we were under a necessity of contracting the little allowance which had been lately settled for each man, and continued gradually lessening the quantity of provisions, till every morsel was entirely exhausted, and not above two gallons of dirty water remaining in the bottom of the cask. In this dreadful situation we beat upon the water seven days without meeting with any relief. I was now, from incessant fatigue, and want of necessaries, reduced to keep my cabin, and began to look upon myself as devoted to the waves; and to complete the calamity, the captain of the vessel, the only conversable person on board, died in the cot by my side. He had been all the passage in a very weakly condition, and often signified his dissolution was near at hand. In fact it was so; for he died almost suddenly; and by his will left me in possession of the vessel, which was his own; but, alas! it was a miserable inheritance, and, upon the whole, a fatal misfortune; for it entailed a miserable misfortune upon me, as the sequel will announce.

The first thing the sailors did, after I took the command of the vessel, was to seize the cargo, which was natural

enough, as they observed that the lading, which was wine and brandy, were the only things they had now remaining in the world; and that I must not be surprized if they made very free with both for their support. I could neither be sorry nor surprized at this motion. What gave me concern was, the continual excess to which they drank, and the continual course of execration and blasphemy which was occasioned by that excess. For my own part, I abstained as much as possible from wine, and very gladly husbanded the dregs of the water cask, which afterwards proved of infinite service to me, and may be not improperly reckoned an essential means of my surviving a complication of the most afflicting calamities.

Our vessel had been for some time tossed about, at the mercy of the winds and waves; when, in the midst of our despair, we were suddenly transported with the most extravagant sensations of joy, by a discovery of a sail to the leeward, the 25th of December in the morning.

We all crowded upon deck; and hung out with the utmost expedition a proper signal of distress; and about eleven o'clock had the unspeakable satisfaction to come near enough to the ship to engage her in conversation, to inform her of our distresses, and to obtain from the captain an assurance of relief. Indeed, the promised relief was but small; nevertheless, the smallest to people in our circumstances was inestimable. It was to be nothing more than a little bread, which was all the captain assured us that he could spare, as he himself was contracted in every other article. This, however, he said we should have as soon as he had finished an observation which he was taking, for it was now near twelve o'clock. Having no doubt in nature but the captain would punctually perform his promise, I retired to rest myself in the cabin, being much emaciated with fasting and fatigue; and labouring at the same time, not only under a very dreadful flux, but a severe rheumatism in my left knee; my sight also was considerably impaired; so that, upon the whole, I exhibited as striking a picture of misery as could possibly be painted to the eye of imagination.

I had not been many minutes in the cabin, when my people came running down with looks of unutterable despair, and informed me, in accents scarce intelligible, that the vessel was making from us as fast as she could, and that nothing was now left for us but inevitable death.

struction. I crawled up to the deck, at this terrible intimation, with all the expedition I was master of, and found, to my inexpressible affliction, that their account was but too true. The captain had shaken the reefs out of their topsails and mainsail, and in less than five hours, having a fine breeze in his favour, was entirely out of sight. As long as my poor fellows could retain the least trace of him, they hung about the shrouds, or ran in a state of absolute phrenzy, from one part of the ship to the other, to collect still more visible signals of distress. They pierced the air with their cries, encreasing in their lamentations as he lessened upon their view, and straining their very eye-balls to preserve him in sight, through a despairing hope that some dawning impulse of pity would yet induce him to commiserate our situation, and lead him to stretch out the blessed hand of relief. But, alas! to what purpose did we exhaust our little strength in supplicating for compassion, or aggravate our own misfortunes with a fruitless expectation of such a change? The inexorable captain pursued his course without regarding us; and steeled, as he undoubtedly must be, against every sentiment of nature and humanity, probably valued himself not a little upon his dexterity in casting us off. Notwithstanding I must feel an everlasting indignation against this barbarous man, for flattering people in our circumstances with promises which he never meant to fulfil, I shall not hold him up to universal detestation or infamy, by communicating his name to the reader. If he is capable of reflection, his own conscience must sufficiently avenge my cause; and God grant that the pungency of that conscience may be my only avenger. One instance of his cruelty I must not forbear to mention. At our first meeting I told him, neither I nor any of my men would desire a single morsel of his provisions, provided he only took us out of our own wreck; in which we were every moment exposed to the mercy of the waves, as our leaks were continually encreasing, and the men declining in their strength in proportion as the necessity grew urgent to employ them at the pumps. This request he absolutely refused; though the indulgence of it might, in any succeeding distress, have done him an essential service, and could not possibly have exposed him to the least inconvenience.

My people being thus unhappily cut off from all assistance, where they were so fully persuaded of meeting with instant relief, became now as much dejected with their disappoint-

ment as they were before transported with their joy. A desperate kind of gloom sat upon every face, which seemed regardless of the horror that was continually expected to burst upon our heads, at the same time that it indicated a determination to put off the fatal moment to the utmost verge of possibility. Actuated, therefore, by a resolution of holding out as long as we were able, we turned our thoughts upon a pair of pigeons and a cat, which we had not yet destroyed, and which were the only living animals on board beside ourselves. The pigeons were killed for our Christmas dinner; and the day following made away with our cat, casting lots for the several parts of the poor creature, as there were no less than nine of us to partake of the repast. The head fell to my share; and in all my days I never feasted on any thing which appeared so delicious to my appetite. The piercing sharpnests of necessity had entirely conquered my aversion to such food; and the rage of incredible hunger rendered that an exquisite regale, which, on any other occasion, I must have loathed with the most insuperable disgust. After the cat was entirely consumed, my people began to scrape the barnacles from the ship's bottom; but the relief afforded from this expedient was extremely trivial, as the waves had beaten off the greater number that were above water, and the men were infinitely too weak to hang over the ship's side to gather them. Their continued intoxications, however, seemed, in some measure, to keep up their spirits, though it hastened the destruction of their health, and every dawn of reflection was carried off in a storm of blasphemy and execration.

For my own part, I imbibed the strongest aversion imaginable to wine. The complicated disorders under which I laboured induced me to abstain from it at first; and as the men were perpetually heating it in the stove, the smell of it became offensive to the last degree; so that I subsisted entirely on the dirty water, half a pint of which, together with a few drops of Turlington's balsam, being my whole allowance for four and twenty hours. In this situation I patiently expected the destiny which I thought it utterly impossible to avoid; and had it not been for the pangs which I felt on account of my Penelope and her grandmother, I should have longed for the moment of dissolution, and rejoiced at the approach of that awful period which was to put an end to all my misfortunes.

When the reader comes to consider our total want of necessities, that the vessel had been for some time leaky, that I myself was emaciated with sickness, and had but one sail in the world to direct her; when he considers that the men were either too weak, or too much intoxicated, to pay a necessary attention to the pump; when he likewise considers the severity of the season, that it blew "*black December*," as Shakespeare phrases it, and is told that we had not an inch of candle, nor a morsel of flesh to make any, having long since eaten up every appearance of either which could be found; when the reader comes to consider all these things, and is, moreover, informed, that the general distress had deprived me of all command on board my own ship, he will scarcely suppose that I could sustain any new misfortune; yet such was the severity of my destiny, than on the 28th of December (being then driven far to the northward by a series of southerly winds) we were overtaken by a most dreadful storm at N.W. by N. and N.W. and had our only remaining bit of canvas, the mainsail, torn entirely away, so that we were now become a wreck in the fullest sense of the expression; and death became so seemingly unavoidable, that I even gave up hope, that last consolation of all the wretched, and prepared for an immediate launch into the dreadful gulph of eternity. Providence, however, thought proper to dispose of us otherwise; and everlasting thanks to his infinite mercy, I am still alive to labour for the advancement of my little family.

To this period of my relation I have been able to proceed circumstantially from a reference to my journal. The remainder, as I grew from this time utterly unable to hold a pen, is necessarily collected from my memory, and from memorandums which I made at intervals of the most remarkable occurrences. The reader will recollect, that the last morsel of meat that we tasted was our eat on the 26th of December. On the 13th of January following, being still tossed about at the discretion of the sea and wind, my mate, at the head of all the people, came to me into the cabin, half drunk, indeed, but with looks so full of horror, as partly indicated the nature of their dreadful purpose, and informed me, "that they could hold out no longer; that their tobacco was entirely exhausted; that they had eaten up all the leather belonging to the pump, and even the buttons of their jackets; that now

“ they had no chance in nature, but to cast lots, and to sacrifice one of themselves for the preservation of the rest: they therefore expected my concurrence to the measure, and desired me to favour them with an immediate determination.”

Perceiving them in liquor, I endeavoured to sooth them from their purpose as well as I could; begged they would retire to rest; and that, in case Providence did not interpose in their favour by the next morning, we would consult farther on the subject. Instead of regarding my request, however, they swore, with a determin'd horror of execration, that what was to be done, must be done immediately; and that it was indifferent to them whether I acquiesced or not: for although they had been so kind as to acquaint me with their resolution, they would oblige me to take my chance as well as the others, since the general misfortune had levelled all distinction of persons.

As I had long expected some violence to myself, from the excess of their intoxication, I had for some time taken to my arms, to prevent surprise; but, alas! this was an idle precaution, as I was by no means able to repel force by force. Finding them, therefore, still deaf to my remonstrances, I told them they might pursue their own course; but that I would on no account either give orders for the death of the person on whom the lot might fall, nor partake, by any means, of so shocking a repast. To this they answered, that they would not ask my consent to slaughter the victim; and as to eating, or not eating, I might just follow the bias of my own inclination. So saying, they left me, and went into the steerage; but in a few minutes came back, informing me, that they had each taken a chance for their lives, and that the lot had fallen on a Negro, who was part of my cargo. The little time taken to cast the lot, and the private manner of conducting the decision, gave me some strong suspicions that the poor Ethiopian was not altogether treated fairly; but, on recollection, I almost wondered that they had given him even the appearance of an equal chance with themselves. The miserable Black, however, well knowing his fate was at hand, and seeing one of the fellows loading a pistol to dispatch him, ran to me, begging I would endeavour to save his life. Unfortunately for him, I was totally without power. They therefore dragged him into the steerage, where, in less than two minutes, they shot him through

the head. They suffered him to lie but a very little time, before they ripped him open, intending to fry his entrails for supper: there being a large fire made ready for the purpose. But one of the foremast-men, whose name was James Campbell, being ravenously impatient for food, tore the liver from the body, and devoured it raw as it was, notwithstanding the fire was at hand, where it could be immediately dressed. The unhappy man paid dear for such an extravagant impatience, for in three days after he died raving mad, and was the morning of his death thrown overboard; the survivors, greatly as they wished to preserve his body, being fearful of sharing his fate, if they ventured to make as free with him as with the unfortunate Negro.—But to return.

The Black affording the people what they deemed a luxurious banquet, they were busy the principal part of the night in feasting on him, and did not retire to rest till two in the morning. About eight o'clock next day, the mate came to ask my orders relative to the pickling the body: an instance of brutality which shocked me so much, that I grasped a pistol, and muttering all the strength I was master of, I protested that unless he instantly quitted the cabin, I would send him after the Negro. Seeing me determined, he withdrew; but muttered, as he went out, that the provision should be taken care of without my advice; and that he was sorry he had applied to me, since I was no longer considered as master of the ship. Accordingly, he called a council, when it was unanimously agreed to cut the body into small pieces, and to pickle it; after chopping off the head and fingers, which they threw overboard by common consent.

Three or four days after that, as they were stewing and frying some steaks, as they called the slices which they cut from the poor Negro, (for they stewed these slices first in wine, and afterwards either fried or broiled them,) I could hear them say, "D—n him, though he would not consent 'to our having any meat, let us give him some;" and immediately one of them came into my cabin, and offered me a steak: I refused the tender with indignation, and desired the person who brought it, at his peril, to make the offer a second time. In fact, the constant expectation of death, joined to the miserable state to which I was reduced, through sickness and fatigue, to say nothing of my horror at the food with which I was presented, entirely

took away my desire of eating. Add to this, that the stench of their stewing and frying threw me into an absolute fever, and that this fever was aggravated by a strong scurvy, and a violent swelling in my legs. Sinking under such an accumulated load of afflictions, and being, moreover, fearful, if I closed my eyes, that they would surprise and murder me for the next supply, it is no wonder that I lost all relish for sustenance. In reality, it would have been wonderful had I preserved the least; and therefore my abstinence is not altogether so meritorious as it otherwise would have been.

Notwithstanding the excesses into which my people ran, they nevertheless husbanded the Negro's carcass with the severest economy, and stinted themselves to an allowance which made it last for many days. But when it was nearly expended, I could hear them frequently consulting among one another, on the most expedient course to provide another supply. The result of all those determinations was to destroy me, before they ran any risque of destroying themselves. The reader will naturally suppose, that if I slept little before I received any positive knowledge of their intention, I slept still less when I became acquainted with their designs. In proportion as the Negro grew less, so in proportion my apprehensions were increased; and every meal which they sat down to, I considered as a fresh approach to my destruction.

In this manner matters went on till the 28th or 29th of January, when the mate, with more generosity than I could expect, from the nature of their late private consultations, came to me again at the head of the people, saying, that the Negro had for some days been entirely eaten up; and as no vessel had yet appeared, to give us the most distant glimmer of relief, there was a necessity for casting lots again, since it was better to die separately than all at once. They then also told me, that they did not doubt but I was now hungry, and would of course take my chance with them as I before had done, when my situation was infinitely less desperate. I again attempted to argue with them, and observed, that the poor Negro's death had done them no service, as they were as greedy and as emaciated as ever. I therefore advised them to submit to the dispensations of Providence with temper, and offered to pray with them for an immediate relief, or an immediate eternity. The answer which they gave to

this was, that they were now hungry, and must have something to eat; and therefore it was no time to pray; and if I did not instantly consent to cast lots, they would instantly proceed without me.

Finding them thus inflexible, and having but too much reason to suspect some foul proceedings, unless I became a principal agent in the affair, I made shift to rise up in my bed, ordered pen, ink, and paper, and called them all into the cabin. There were seven of us now left; and the lots were drawn in the same manner as the tickets are drawn for a lottery at Guildhall. The lot, indeed, did not fall upon me; but it fell on one David Flatt, a foremastman, the only man in the ship on whom I could place any certain dependence. The shock of the decision was great; and the preparations for his execution were dreadful. The fire already blazed in the steerage, and every thing was prepared for sacrificing the wretched victim immediately. A profound silence for some time took possession of the whole company, and would probably have continued longer, had not the unhappy victim himself, who appeared quite resigned, delivered himself to the following effect: "My dear friends, messmates and fellow-sufferers, all I have to beg of you is to dispatch me as soon as you did the Negro, and to put me to as little torture as you can." Then turning to one James Doud, (the man who shot the Negro,) "It is my desire (said he) that you should shoot me." Doud reluctantly assented. The unhappy victim then begged a small time to prepare himself for death: to which his companions very cheerfully agreed, and even seemed at first unwilling to insist upon his forfeit life, as he was greatly respected by the whole ship's company. A few draughts of wine, however, soon suppressed these dawnings of humanity: nevertheless, to shew their regard, they consented to let him live till eleven the next morning, in hopes that the Divine goodness would, in the mean time, raise up some other source of relief. At the same time they begged of me to read prayers, promising to join me with the utmost fervency. I was greatly pleased with this motion; and, though but little able to go through a task of that kind, I exerted all my strength, and had the satisfaction to observe that they behaved with tolerable decency.

Fatigued with reading so much, I lay down almost ready to faint, yet could hear the whole ship's company talking

to the wretched Flatt; hoping that the Deity would interpose for his preservation; and assuring him, though they never yet could catch, or even see, a fish, they would at day-break put out all their hooks again, to try if any thing could be caught to mitigate their distresses, or to avert the severity of his sentence. Unhappily, however, the poor fellow, unable to stand the shock of his destiny, grew astonishingly deaf by midnight, and was quite delirious by four in the morning. His messmates discovering this alteration, debated whether it would not be an act of humanity to dispatch him immediately: but the first resolution to spare him till eleven visibly preponderating, they all retired to rest, except the person who was to take care of the fire. In all their excesses, they were sensible of what importance it was to preserve the fire, and therefore never went to bed without leaving a sentinel to keep it up.

About eight o'clock the next morning, as I was ruminating in my cabin on the approaching fate of the poor fellow, who had now but three hours to live, two of my people came hastily down, with looks full of the strongest expression, and seizing my hands, without saying a syllable, gave me no little apprehension that they intended to postpone his fate for some time, and to sacrifice me in his stead. I was the more confirmed in this opinion, as the unhappy man still continued out of his senses, and on that account might be judged improper sustenance: especially as, notwithstanding all their necessities, they threw Campbell overboard through a fear of catching his infection. Fraught with a notion of this nature, I disengaged myself as well as I was able, and snatching up one of my pistols, resolved to sell my life as dearly as I could. The poor men guessing at my mistake, with some difficulty told me, that their behaviour was not the effect of an ill intention, but the actual consequence of their joy; that they had descried a sail to the leeward, which appeared to be a large vessel, and that she seemed to stand for us in as fair a direction as we could possibly wish. The rest of the crew came down immediately after their companions, and confirmed the report of a sail; but with this material difference, that she seemed to bear off upon quite a contrary course.

It is impossible to describe the excess of my transport on hearing that there was a sail at any rate in sight: my joy in a manner overpowered me; and it was not without the

utmost exertion of my strength that I desired them to use every expedition in making a signal of distress. Our vessel, indeed, itself, was a most striking signal; but as there was a possibility for the ship in view to suppose that there was not a living creature on board, I judged it absolutely expedient to prevent the likelihood of so dreadful a mistake. My poor men found my orders now so essential to their own preservation, that I was obeyed with all imaginable alacrity; and had frequently the inexpressible happiness to hear them jumping on the deck, and crying out, "she nighs us; she nighs us; she is standing this way." The ship coming visibly nearer and nearer, my people now began to think of their unfortunate messmate Flatt, who was, however, utterly unable to receive any account of the deliverance which was so happily at hand: nevertheless, in the midst of all their sympathy for his situation, they proposed a cann of joy; and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could prevail on them to acknowledge the strong impropriety of such a motion in their present circumstances. I observed that if they appeared any way disguised with liquor, the captain might probably decline taking us on board; and endeavoured to convince them that their deliverance in a very great measure depended upon the regularity of this moment's behaviour. My remonstrances had some effect; and all, but my mate, who had for a considerable time abandoned himself to a brutality of intoxication, very prudently postponed so untimely an indulgence.

After continuing for a considerable time eagerly observing the progress of the vessel, and undergoing the most tumultuous agitation that could be created by so trying a suspense, we had at last the happiness to see a boat drop a-stern, and row towards us full manned, with a very vigorous dispatch. It was now quite calm; yet the impatience with which we expected the arrival of the boat was incredible. The many disappointments we had met with in the course of our unfortunate voyage, filled us with an apprehension of some new accident, that might frustrate all our hopes, and plunge us again into an aggravated distress. Life and death seemed, in short, to sit upon every stroke of the oar; and as we still considered ourselves tottering on the very verge of eternity, the conflict between our wishes and our fears may be easily supposed by a reader of imagination. The boat at length came along-side: but

our appearance was so ghastly, that the men rested upon their oars, and, with looks of inconceivable astonishment, demanded what we were. Having satisfied them in this point, they immediately came on board, and begged we would use the utmost expedition in quitting our miserable wreck, lest they should be overtaken by any gale before they were able to recover their ship. At the same time seeing me totally incapable of getting into the boat without assistance, they provided ropes, by which I was quickly let down; and my people followed me, I need not, I believe observe, with all the alacrity they possessed.

But our expedition was delayed by the recollection of poor Platt, while three of the men returned, and brought him into the boat; but he was yet insensible of his happy deliverance.

We were now just preparing to set off, when one of my people cried out, that my mate was still on board. In the general hurry, every man's attention was engaged by the thoughts of his own preservation: and it was almost a matter of wonder, that any body remembered the absence of the mate. He was, however, immediately called to, and, after some time, came to the gunnel, in a seeming astonishment at such a number of people; the cann of joy, with which he had been busy, having completely erased every idea of the preceding occurrences from his recollection. Having got him into the boat, we instantly put off, and in about an hour came up with the ship, which was rather better than two miles from the wreck; and we were received with a humanity on board that did the highest honour imaginable to the character of the captain. When we came along-side, he, together with his passengers and people, were upon deck, from an equal mixture of compassion and curiosity; but our hollow eyes, shrivelled cheeks, and squalid complexions, had such an effect upon them, that the captain himself absolutely shook with horror, as he was politely leading me to the cabin, and generously thanking God for being made the instrument of our deliverance.

Before I proceed farther, it will be proper to inform the reader of the person to whose benignity my people and I were indebted for our preservation. His name was Thomas Byres, of the American ship *Susanna*, in the Virginia trade, who was returning from Virginia to London; to the latter of which places his vessel belonged.

I had no sooner got on board, than, dropping on my knees against a hencoop on the deck, I poured out my soul in a strain of the sincerest gratitude to the great Author of all things for the abundance of his mercy: and, in the fulness of my heart, began also to express my sensibility to the captain for his readiness to assist the distressed. He begged I would be silent on the subject, at least for that time, and advised me to take a little rest; assuring me, at the same time, that my people should be treated with every necessary attention.

I had not been on board three or four days, when I found some little inclination to eat, the rest which I had taken during that interval giving me some distant dawning of an appetite: I therefore hinted my desire to the captain, who had repeatedly applied to me from my first arrival to take a little food, and he immediately ordered some fago to be boiled, of which I ate, without finding any relish whatever, my taste being rendered insensible, as I apprehend, from so long a discontinuance of sustenance. The undeviating tenderness which the worthy captain shewed to every thing which concerned my case, or tended to the recovery of my health, in a short time made me able to crawl upon deck by myself, though at first I could by no means face the wind. The air, however, did me incredible service; and I continued daily increasing in my strength.

My readers will be anxious to learn the situation of the condemned victim, poor Platt. On his being brought on board, the good Captain Eyres administered to him some medicines, which he had provided for the voyage; and in two days we had the gratification to find his delirium abated, and his reason return. I attempted to acquaint him with our reverse of fortune; but either his head was yet too weak, or his joy too great, to bear the effects of so sudden and affecting a transition, and he fell back apparently lifeless and motionless. We were apprehensive this circumstance had now proved fatal to him; but the captain, with my assistance, applying immediately some fresh water, and afterwards some cordial, which he happened to have in the cabin, he came to himself in about an hour, to the great joy of all present.

We had not, however, long enjoyed this happy transition of fortune, before a fresh calamity seemed ready to involve us; and threatened not only to fall upon my

people and myself, but in some measure, through our means, upon Captain Eyres, his passengers, and ship's company. The ship, it seems, a few days before she took us up, had been attacked by a hard gale of wind, in which, shipping a heavy sea, they lost four hogs, four or five hogheads of fresh water, forty or fifty head of fowls, and twenty or thirty geese and turkies. She had also lost her caboose and copper; and, in short, had suffered not a little: although, to the infinite credit of her commander, these misfortunes did not occasion the least diminution of his humanity when he was called to by the voice of distress. These losses, together with the unexpected addition of seven persons, and a long series of very bad weather, obliged the captain to set all hands to an allowance, which was established at two pounds and an half of bread per week, a quart of water, and half a pound of salt provision a day, for each man on board. In this situation, with a head wind, and the pumps continually at work, his ship being very leaky, we began to keep as good a look-out as possible, in hopes of meeting with some vessel which might oblige us with a salutary supply of provisions. No vessel, however, encountered us, but a Frenchman from Cape Francois, who stood as much in want of necessaries as ourselves. The next day we fell in with a ship, a Dutchman outward bound, who, to our great comfort, informed us we were near Oporto; but that, if we did not keep a good look out, we should certainly be made a prize of by three Algerine galleys, who were then cruising in those seas. The master affirmed this upon his word; and, after giving what ammunition he could spare, proceeded on his voyage. It fell hazy about three o'clock the next morning, and at ten o'clock at night we plainly heard the firing of guns, which seemed at no great distance. This alarm made us prepare for an engagement in case of the worst; that is meeting a corsair, to whom we were resolved not to surrender tamely. By break of day the next morning, we discovered three ships about three or four leagues to leeward. Captain Eyres presently consulted what was most advisable, whether to stay and speak with them, or to make the best of our way. At last (upon what reasons I know not) it was determined that we should stay. It was not long before we discovered those three Algerine ships to be men of war, who, espying their prey, endeavoured to come up with us, which about

night they effected. Whilst they were coming up, Captain Eyres seemed resolved to fight them, and accordingly made preparations to receive them; but in the night his company altered their counsels, let their resolutions die, and agreed to run for it. The Algerines perceiving our design, sent one of their number to chase us, which they did till the morning. At break of day they began to fire, and after a short conflict boarded and took us. We had six slain, and many wounded.

The smiles of fortune were but as a gleam of sunshine in a distant latitude in the middle of winter; for the transitory Elysium which we found on board the *Sasannah* from the humane Captain Eyres, was succeeded by a terrible reverse. We were now slaves; but even slavery, so abhorrent to the human heart, was a relief to our former distresses.

Many weeks they kept us close prisoners at sea. We found many Englishmen in their ships, slaves like ourselves, from whom we had no other comfort, than the condoling of each other's miseries. From them we learnt a smattering of the common language, which would be of some use to us when we should come to Algiers, where, after a passage of five or six weeks, we were landed.

As soon as we were put ashore, for the first night, we were locked down in a deep and nasty cellar; some inconveniencies we felt, but they were nothing to what we feared. The next day we were carried, or led, or rather driven, to the Viceroy's or Bashaw's palace, who, according to the custom, and his own right, is to have the tenth man for his dividend of the slaves.

When the next market-day came, we were driven like beasts thither, and exposed to public sale. Their cruelty is great; but their covetousness exceeds their cruelty. Could they make as much of us dead as they make alive, that so both the interests of cruelty and of covetousness might be secured and reconciled, we were all well assured what would have been our lot.

I was sold the first market-day to a Tagareen; and the first adventure I met with after I was brought to my patron's house (for so I must now call him) had well nigh cost me my life. His father, being desirous to see his son's pennyworth, commanded me up into a gallery which looked into the court, when he began to insult over me with insupportable scorn, reflecting upon me because I

was a Christian, and cast out some expressions which did really reflect upon the person of my Redeemer ; (though I have heard worse since.) My neck was not yet bowed, nor my heart broken to the yoke of bondage. I could not well brook, because I had not been used to then, such language ; and because I could not express myself in the Moresco, or *Lingua Franc*, I supplied it with signs ; I signified, as well as I could, that their Prophet was but a cobbler. I confess my meaning was no more, than that Mahomet, by the help of Sergius, a Nestorian monk, and Abdalla, the Jew, had patched up a cento of Jewish and Monkish fopperies, which now composed their religion. But he, without the preamble of railing words, fell upon me with severe blows. Whatever rage and fury his hands or feet could execute, that I felt ; and my intricacies did but enrage his choler : so that I saw I could sooner blow out the fire with a pair of bellows, than lenify his passion with prayers. I had no other way but to make an offer of leaping down out of the gallery into the court ; and therefore clapping my hands upon the rails, as if I would throw myself headlong down over them, and rather chuse to receive my death from the pavement than his hands, he presently assuaged, if not his rage, yet the execution of it. The old gentleman knew very well, that if I lost my life, his son must lose his present money, and future profit ; for there is little made out of a dead man's skin ; and therefore he respite^d my further punishment till my patron's return ; and then, indeed, this reputed blasphemy of mine with full cry was carried to his ears, and it lost nothing in the telling, but was aggravated to some purpose. My patron, being naturally a very passionate man, said nothing, but, without examination, drew out his long knife, (which they constantly wear by their sides,) and made at me, and had doubtless put an end to my life and captivity at once, had not his wife, who was then seasonably present, prevented him, and sweetened him into a more moderate temper. Some will be ready enough to say, that I was but a martyr to my own folly ; that this was not a place for dispute, but obedience. Well, I learnt from hence two lessons ; one, that when the body is a slave, the reason must not expect to be free ; and where the whole outward man is in bondage, the tongue must not plead exemption ; and a second, that it is fair for slaves to enjoy the freedom of their own consciences, without reviling another's religion,

though erroneous : and this wit I bought, as it fell out, a pretty good pennyworth.

When the storm was over, my employment was assigned me, (for they had rather see a slave dead than idle ;) and for about half a year it lay in drudging on errands, bearing burdens, and discharging other domestic services at command, wherein the only consideration was that it was commanded.

At this time my patron had a part in a man of war, which carried twelve guns. She being at sea (with some others of the same place) met with an American ship, laden with dollars, and other commodities from Spain, and bound for France, one Jones being master, and, after a very sharp though short dispute, the Algerines carried her, and brought her safe home. The adventurers divided their booty ; and being high flown with this success, they resolved to fit her out again to carry more guns, and from hence grew my new employment. Upon the carpenters I attended ; waited on the smiths, to get the iron-work fitted and finished ; and truly he allowed me more for portorage than to the ordinary hammels, or common porters.

When this ship was now fitted for another adventure, my patron told me I must go in her. I pleaded that I was no seaman, understood nothing of the mariner's art ; and as he could expect little service from me in that kind, so I must expect more rigorous treatment, because I could not acquit myself in the service as well as others. He removed my pleas, and promised I should not be wronged. But there was more at the bottom than all this : for here a case of conscience offered itself, whether I might, without sin, in any case fight against Christians, on the part of the common enemy of all Christianity ? The best resolution I could give myself was this, that first, my employment would only lie in managing the tackle, which will kill nobody : but it was replied, that without the due management of the tackle, all the guns in the ship will kill nobody. Secondly, therefore, I answered, that it was not evident they would engage against Christians more than all the rest of mankind, for all the world are their enemies, who are rich enough to invite them, and too weak to resist them. But my patron had a solution worth all these ; he told me peremptorily I must and should go. In fact, his commands were backed with compulsion ; and

whatever his authority was, he had more power than I could deny, or strength to resist; and so I did. Yet this will I say for him, he spoke to the captain and officers of the ship to treat me civilly; that is, less cruelly than other slaves were treated. He gave me some money also in my pocket, bought me cloaths, and laid me in provision above the ship's allowance.

Nine weeks we were at sea, within and without the Straights, cruising and pickarooning up and down. At last we met with one poor American, whom we took, and so returned.

My patron having been at great charges in fitting and manning out this ship, and the reprisals so slenderly answering his great cost, and greater hopes, insisted that I should allow him two dollars per month, and live ashore where I could, and get it where I could. This was a hard chapter, that he who could not maintain himself, should be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of another. It was difficult to raise increase out of no stock, and to pay interest out of no principal; but there was no considering; and I turned my thoughts into all forms and shapes; but all the projects that presented themselves were enumbered with so many difficulties, that they amounted very near to impossibilities. The more I consulted, the further I found myself from a conclusion; and I could see no way but one, (but that was worth a thousand, could I have made the best of it,) and that was to commit myself to God, who had brought me into this strait, beseeching he would bring me out of it. But that my trusting to God might not be a cloak for laziness, or a pillow for sloth to rest upon, I addressed myself to an Englishman, whose condition was that of a slave, and whose calling was that of a taylor. He at first counselled me to come and stay with him, and he would teach me to work at his trade. I accounted nothing base that was honest, and necessity would ennoble a far meaner employment, and very readily closing in my thoughts with his motion, was suddenly elevated into mighty hopes that I should now be in a capacity not only to answer my patron's demand, but escape his lash. But my straits were not it seems, great enough to magnify God's power in raising me; I was not reduced to that extremity which could give an opportunity to exalt his appearing mercy; for when I came to him the next day, I perceived, by his silence, that his mind was

changed; and I was loth, either out of modesty or pride, to give further trouble; and therefore interpreting his silence to be a more civil way of denial, I left him, and once more launched into the wide world.

In this forlorn posture I wandered, but neither knew nor much cared whither, when Providence directed me to another Englishman, who was sitting in a little shop. He asked me what news; and (as that which is uppermost always comes out first) I presently began the story of my desperate condition; how the rigid law of my patron had imposed two dollars per month upon me, and I knew not where to levy the least mite of it. He heard, considered, pitied my condition, and invited me to come and sit in the shop with him; but seeing nothing but bare walls, I asked him to what end? What trade should we drive there? There was not much difference between starving in the streets and in the shop. Countryman, said he, I drive an unknown trade: here I sell lead, iron, shot, strong waters, tobacco, and many other things. This motion was a great deal too good to be refused, and I think at that time no tolerable condition would have stuck with me.

I acquainted my patron with my design, pleading I wanted stock to set up with: so he lent me a small modicum, and, with another pittance that I had privately reserved of my own, I began to trade. That very night I went and bought a parcel of tobacco: the next morning we dressed it, cut it, and fitted it for sale; and the world seemed to smile on us wonderfully. In this way of partnership we continued for some while; and what we got clear we divided every week according to the proportion of our respective stocks. In a while, finding the world to come in upon us, we ventured upon no less than a whole butt of wine. Some money we had, and some credit; this wine we drew out, and got considerably by it. But it is very difficult to maintain moderation in an exalted state, and our state was capable of better and worse; for my partner being elevated with our good success, grew a good fellow, and a bad husband, neglected his business, went tipling and fuddling up and down, and the concerns of the shop and trade lay wholly upon me.

It happened that one John Randall, who with his wife and child were taken in the Sasannah with myself, being put to the same shift with myself, and, as it is very common, having a monthly tax imposed upon him by his pa-

tron, which he must scrape up where he could, and be-
sides maintain himself, his wife and child, went up and
down seeking for relief; at last the poor man straggled to
our shop: his case made a great impression on me. I could
not but consider the goodness of God to me, that should
now be in a condition to advise and help another, who so
lately wanted both myself; so I bade him come in, and
finding him to be a glover by trade, advised him to learn
to make canvas cloaths for seamen that are slaves: and for
my own part, he should sit rent free: but if my partner
would insist upon his moiety, he must be willing to satisfy
him, for I had no power to determine on another's right.

Though my condition was much better than that of
thousands, yet I could not help often repining at the un-
fortunate condition I was reduced to. Penelope, my poor
Penelope! was almost always in my sight. My mother's
situation too gave me many times much uneasiness, and set
me upon several experiments to effect my escape: but that
time was not yet come; and though the several disap-
pointments hurt me much at the time, yet I now bless
God, I am able to praise his name for his manifold mer-
cies undeservedly conferred on me.

Whilst I was managing my trade very stoutly and suc-
cessfully (John Randall working with me in my shop) my
partner having now declined business, and left all to me,
one day I changed a twenty shilling piece of gold for
silver with a friend, and having the money chinking in
my hand, John Randall asked me what I did with so much
money? I desired him to keep it for me till our return,
and he should know: for he not being very well, we
agreed to walk out of the town to take the fresh air; a
liberty which, for somewhat above a mile, is indulged to
the slaves. When we had walked almost to the end of
our tedder, I was desirous to walk a little farther, view
the coasts, if, perhaps, any advantage might offer itself af-
terwards for an escape; though we actually designed no
such thing. As we were prying about the sea-side, one of
the spies, appointed constantly to watch, lest any of the
slaves should run away, came to us, and charged us with
an attempt to make an escape. We flatly denied it, but he
laid hold on us. There was no resisting, and accordingly
we attended him towards the city. As we drew near, I
espied some Englishmen at quoits; for with such recrea-
tions and diversions they were willing now and then to

beguile the tedious minutes of lingering thralldom. I beckoned to one of them, whom I knew, and pretending only to whisper with him, I secretly conveyed to him my purse, wherein were seven pieces of eight. We were presently met by another spy, and those two led us to a little blind house, where they searched us. They took away the twenty shillings, which I had put into my friend's hand; and finding nothing upon me, took away my doublet, and then brought us before the Viceroy and his council. We were straightly examined, and strongly charged with an attempt to escape. We peremptorily denied all, and stood upon our innocence, affirming, that our only design of walking abroad was to take the fresh air. This excuse was not accepted, and the battoon was commanded to be brought forth. We answered, we durst not falsely accuse ourselves, nor make ourselves criminal when we were not so; and therefore, if such were their will and pleasure, we must abide by it, and so we sat down by the sticks.

But the Viceroy, with his council, gathering from circumstances, and induced to believe us by our constant and resolute denial of the fact, omitted at present any further punishment; and only commanded us to be laid in chains in the Viceroy's prison till our patrons should demand our liberties, and fetch us out; and the next day we were both delivered, though with different fates; (as Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker were both taken from prison, the one to be advanced, the other to be hanged:) for John Randall's patron being very termagant, used that absolute and unlimited sovereignty which they pretend to have over their slaves, and commanded him to receive three hundred blows upon the soles of his feet with the battoon in the usual barbarous manner. As for myself, when I was brought home, the spy that seized us came and demanded money of my patron for his good service, not reckoning that he had any thing of me, which put him into a most desperate fit of passion; and calling me dog and Jew, and all to nought, commanded me to go to work in the looms with two other Englishmen that were slaves, and linen cloth weavers. But, alas, I was a bungler, and understood nothing of the draft and mystery of weaving more or less: but there I wrought till I had spoilt all I laid my hands on. Now, when he saw that my labour this way would not turn to account, he rated me

for a loggerhead, and bade me fill quills for the other two. Being now degraded from a bungling weaver to an excellent filler of quills, I continued about a month. My shop all this while lay at sixes and sevens : what was become of it I knew not, and durst not for my life discover any desire to return to that employment. At last my patron asked me for the money that he had lent me when I had first began to trade. I answered submissively, that I had not a farthing ; all my small estate lay in a few goods ; and till they were sold, I could not possibly repay him. He called one of his slaves, a Dutchman, and commanded him to go with me, and turn all into ready money, and bring it him. When I came to my old shop, there was the nest, indeed, but the birds were flown : for, in my absence, poor John Randall, being lame, and not able to work, my partner some time before having left me, and I confined to another employment, some of these rascals had broken open my shop, and thence carried away the best of my goods ; though my cellar was still safe ; and some of my goods I heard of, and recovered. What money I had was hid in the ground, as it was my constant way. That night the Dutchman and myself returned to our patron, and told him we could sell nothing ; whereupon he remanded me to my shop, there to trade, paying him the two dollars a month, as I had done before.

My patron had been sinking in his estate a pretty while. The last ship he had put to sea broke his back. At last he was grown insensibly so low, that it could be no longer daubed with his repute, but he must be forced to sell all his slaves to pay his debts. It was not much to me whether I was changed. I might change my goaler, and my goal, but still I was like to be a prisoner. I might be bought and sold, and sold again, but still my condition was slavery. Yet one thing methought was comfortable, that the last instrument of my bondage was come into misery as well as myself.

In the partage of his slaves, it fell to my lot and another's to be mortgaged for a certain sum of money, jointly to two persons ; the one a cap-maker ; the other a grave old genleman, who amongst his own people had the repute of a good-natured and moderate person, as good-nature and moderation go at Algiers. The day of payment came, the money was not paid. The cap-maker and the old gentleman seized on us, and held us in common ;

but in a while they resolved to divide us, that each of us might know whom to call master, and whose whistle we were bound to obey. We were both summoned to appear at a certain place at mid-day, and much ado there was about our dividing. At last they agreed to cast lots for us, only because I was in a handsome way of trade. It was agreed, that he to whose share I should fall, should pay the other fifty doubles, which, if I compute right, is something more than fifty shillings sterling. I was exceedingly fearful I should fall to the cap-maker, for he had the character of a brutish, ill-humoured fellow. But God delivered me from that tyrannical gentleman; and if I was to be silent here, I should be the most ungrateful wretch living. I found not only pity and compassion, but love and friendship, from my new patron. Had I been his son, I could not have met with more respect, nor have been treated with more tenderness. I could not wish a friend a better state than I was in, except my captivity. If any thing could be mingled with bondage to make it sweet, if any thing could reconcile slavery to nature, if any thing could beget an acquiescence in such a state, I did not, I could not, want it.

In this condition I lived a long time, often reflecting upon the unhappy situation of my little family at home, who must be miserable upon my account; for of all the endeavours I used, I never could get a letter to England; nay, not so much as out of Algiers, so narrowly are the slaves looked after there. Indeed, I had sometimes the satisfaction of meeting an American, or a countryman, who, like myself, had the misfortune to fall into slavery, in consequence of the hostility that subsisted between the thirteen provinces and the states of Barbary; but this was but small consolation: however, we participated our sorrows together; and I never failed of being as serviceable to them as it lay in my power, especially if I found them of a serious turn of mind. And, indeed, the freedom that I found in servitude, the liberty I enjoyed in my bonds was so great, that it took off much of the edge of my desire to obtain, and almost blunted it from any vigorous attempt after, liberty, that carried hazard in its face, till at last I was awakened upon this occasion.

My patron had a small farm in the country about twelve miles from the city, whither he took me along with him. He had me to their markets, shewed me the manner of

them, and at my return he loaded me home with all manner of provisions, that I might make merry with my fellow Christians; and I had some reason to conclude, from his great kindness to me, that he intended to send me there to manage the farm for him. However, I saw now evidently, that if I once quitted my shop, I should lose with it all means, all helps, and therefore all hopes, to rid myself out of slavery; and though I might have been there a petty lord over the rest of my fellow-servants, yet slavery had in it something of I know not what harshness that I could not brook. Fetters of gold do not lose their nature, they are fetters still. Had Bajazet's cage been of gold, as it was of iron, yet it was a cage; and that was provocation enough to a haughty spirit to beat out his own brains against its bars. How to regain my liberty was the constant occupation of my thoughts; waking or sleeping, my head was so full of different schemes, that I dreamed of nothing else. However, an insurmountable difficulty was always in the way. I was so closely watched, that I could not get so much as to the sea-side, without endangering myself to a strapado, for the imputed crime of attempting my escape. I thought if I could once secret myself on board one of the little galleys which were frequently running over to Gibraltar with provisions, I should make a good escape. But that was impossible for the reason just now alledged. Other schemes came into my head, as idle and vain; some desperate, others impossible; but at last I hit upon one that seemed more feasible and practicable, and in which I succeeded, as will be seen in its proper place.

Having formed the design, or, at least, the rude draught, and general mode of it, my first care was to open it to some skilful and faithful counsellors, who might more impartially discover to me its inconveniencies, where it was like to prove leaky, or to take wind; and first I acquainted Mr. Newton, a dissenting minister, with it, and laid before him the whole of the contrivance; and he so far approved it, that he judged it possible. Next I acquainted one Robert Lake, who wished it all good success: and lastly, I acquainted my friend John Randall, who approved it: yet none of these could or would run the risque of its miscarriage. Mr. Newton was already delivered from his patron, and in a fair way to be absolutely enlarged in a more safe and regular way; for not long af-

ter our escape, came Captain Pack, of London, and paid the sixty dollars, and took him along with him for England. John Randall had a wife and child, and these were too dear pledges to be left behind, and yet too tender things to undergo our difficulties. Robert Lake was an ancient person, and neither able passively to be carried in, nor actively to carry on a design that required such hardihood of body and mind to endure, and much strength to go through with it. We had nothing from them but prayers and counsels, which yet were the main; and then my next care was to take in partners and accomplices in the design.

But, before I would reveal the project to any of them in particular, I required an oath of secrecy. When a project was once mentioned, which promised in general their happiness and welfare, I needed not to tell them in particular what it drove at, they could guess that with ease; for what could be good or happy to slaves without liberty? This oath therefore they willingly took. I judged seven persons would be enough to manage, carry on, and execute it; and therefore, except the three before mentioned, I communicated it to no one person but the following, who engaged in it, though all of them did not go through with it: John Anthony, a carpenter; William Adams, a bricklayer; John Jephth, a seaman; John Wills, a carpenter; and two others, whose employment it was to wash small clothes at the sea-side; and these also had their parts in carrying on the work, though they went not along with us.

I formed many objections to myself about the propriety of escaping from my patron, who really used me well, and allowed me all the liberty I could wish: but the desire of seeing my native country once more, and one thought of England and its liberty, and of my poor Penelope, over-balanced every little scruple: So I determined to go, let the attempt cost me what it would. During this time, I did all I could to learn intelligence of my old friend Captain Eyres; but all my attempts were vain; they had been sold up the country, and were no more to be heard of.

Thus all was clear and quiet, and we went on with our design, which I now first opened to them, that I had contrived the model of a boat, which, being formed in parcels, and afterwards put together, might prove an ark to

deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. This was soon said, and as eagerly embraced. Escape! was a pleasant word; the term Liberty! was music to our ears, and our wishing hearts danced to the tune of it; and a boat was as promising a means as any that could be imagined. But when once their thoughts had cooled, and came more sedately to look into the difficulties of it, they appeared innumerable, and some of them seemed insuperable; and some things that had, at first view, passed current in my own thoughts, yet, when they came to be examined more rigidly, there appeared considerable impediments. Where this boat should be built? was one staggering question. Where it should be launched, and where put to sea? were other objections: How we could escape those Argus eyes, which were always observing us by day? was a grovelling query: or how to get out of the city by night, whose walls are so high, whose gates are so closely shut, and strongly guarded? were other vexatious questions. How we should be rigged and victualled for such a voyage was a considerable enquiry: and whither we should bend our course? was not to be slighted: But how such a little skiff, rather than a boat, should be able to weather all the accidents of the sea? was a grand question, and enough to drive us to despair.

To these objections I answered, that I had designed my own cellar as the best place wherein to build the boat; that, when it was there built, it might be taken to pieces again, and carried out of the city in parcels, and stowed in private places, till the scheme was ripe for execution; that for a place where to put to sea, it would be time enough to determine upon when we had finished our vessel; that Minorca was the most commodious place to design to land in. But, in general, I told them to this purpose: that if we never attempted any thing till we had answered all objections, we might sit with our fingers in our mouths all our days, and pine and languish our tedious lives in bondage; that the project had its difficulties I confessed; but what has not that is commendable and glorious? Yes, whatever difficulties and dangers we should meet with, Liberty! kept in our view, would sweeten the dangers we might encounter in attempting to regain it. They were well satisfied with what was said, and all engaged to venture the utmost they were able and had to accomplish it.

In the cellar we began our work ; and first we provided a piece of timber about twelve feet long to make the keel ; but, because it was impossible to convey a piece of timber of that length out of the city, without its being seen, and of that shape, but it must be suspected, and that suspicion would bring us into examination, and the rack or battoon might extort a confession from the most resolute and obdurate breast, we therefore cut it into two pieces, and fitted it for joining just in the middle. Our next care was the timbers or ribs of the boat, which we contrived thus : every one of the timbers was made of three pieces, and jointed in two places ; because a whole rib, at its full length, would be liable to the same inconveniencies with the keel. Now understand, that the joints of the ribs were not made with mortice and tenon ; but the flat side of one of the three pieces were laid over the other, and two holes were bored at every joint, into which two nails were to be put, when we should join the parcels of our boat together. You must understand further, that these two holes at every joint were not made in a straight line parallel with the sides of the pieces ; for then the three pieces, which make one rib, being joined together, would have made one straight piece ; a form which would by no means agree with the use and design of the timbers ; but so, that when both the nails were in the holes, each joint would make an obtuse angle, and so incline as near a semicircular figure as our occasion required. All this while there was no provision made for boards to cloath the naked ribs of our boat, without which the keel and timbers looked but like an useless anatomy ; but neither had we, nor was it possible we should have any boards in our vessel. Necessity is the best artificer when all is done, to which the world has been beholden for the most useful inventions which at this day ease the labour of mankind. For the joining of these boards, and the nailing of them, to make the boat water-tight, would occasion such a clamorous echo in the cellar by the hammering as must have drawn upon us the jealous eyes of the Algerines, who about their wives and slaves are truly suspicious ; we therefore resolved to buy as much strong canvas as would cover our boat twice over upon the convex of the cargo ; we provided as much pitch, tar, and tallow, as would serve to make it a kind of tarpaulin sea-cloth to swaddle the naked body of our infant boat, and earthen pots

to melt our materials in, and fixed a night wherein we might execute that part of our labour. The two carpenters and myself undertook this service in the cellar, and all went on very well. We had stopped all the crevices and corners, that the steam of the melted materials might not creep out and betray us, (there being no chimney :) but we had not been long at work, before I felt myself exceedingly sick with the strong and unusual scent that arose, and was forced to go out into the street to gasp for breath, where meeting the cold air, it overcame me, and I fell down and bruised my face, and there lay till my companions came out to seek me, and carried me in again. One of them was soon taken sick also, and now our work stood still. I began to fear that our hopeful project would prove abortive, especially if we suffered our spirits to cool over the design; I therefore advised the door to be set open, telling them, that if we should be discovered, that the crime would be charged on me, and I must answer for all. At length the door was set open, and we soon recovered, and went on with our business, and pitched one half that night. The next night we met again, and they proceeded with the work, while I stood sentinel at the door to give notice of approaching danger; but we happily finished the whole; and while it was yet dark, carried it to my shop, which was about a furlong from the cellar, and there for the present secured it. We next held a consultation how to convey all out of town, and hide them in secure and trusty places.

As Adams had long exercised the trade of a bricklayer, and as his employment lay much without the town, we unanimously judged him the fittest person to carry the keel, especially as he used such pieces in leveling his work: he therefore, accoutred with his apron upon him, his trowel in his hand, and one of the pieces upon his shoulder, undertook it, and went cleverly away with it, and as he saw his opportunity, hid it in the bottom of the hedge; and not long after conveyed out its fellow, and lodged it in the same place. This succeeding so happily, we saw no great difficulty with the timbers; for we put one nail in a hole of every joint; and then it will be easy to conceive that the two extreme pieces of one rib, being folded inwards upon the middlemost, will lie in the room of one of the pieces for length, excepting that little which the ends of each piece were beyond the holes. Now, by

general consent, the conveying of these out of the city was committed to one whose employment was to wash small cloaths by the sea-side; he put them into a bag amongst his cloaths, and so very orderly carried them out, and hid them where he could find most commodious stowage, but yet with respect to the nearness to that place where the keel was laid.

But how to convey our tarpaulin safe out of town seemed most difficult. By night it was impossible; and by day the difficulties were considerable, and the danger proportionate; for the gates are strictly watched, the streets crowded, the spies pickarooning in every corner, and the bulk of the canvas thus dressed was very great. To divide it had been to ruin ourselves; for no stitching together again could so cheat the searching water, but it would find out the needle holes. At last we ventured to put it into a large sack, and committed it to him that used to wash cloaths; and, lest any should clap a jealous hand upon it, we put a pillow over our canvas within the bag, so that its softness might delude the inquisitor, and make it pass for cloaths.

We had yet many things to provide, among which oars were absolutely necessary. To supply them we took two pipe slaves, and slitting them across from corner to corner with a saw, we made of each two rude things, which necessity was pleased to entitle the blades of a pair of oars; and these were easily conveyed out without suspicion.

We next considered that provision must be laid in for the voyage; and therefore we procured a small, and but a small, quantity of bread, presuming our stay at sea must be but short; for either we should speedily recover land, or speedily be drowned, or soon be brought back again. Two goat's skins also, stript off whole, and so tanned (a kind of bottle much used by the Algerines to carry milk and water in) we had, which we lined with fresh water, that we knew would be a great rarity in the Mediterranean.

We procured some canvas for a sail to help us on our voyage, which, to stop a dispute that arose on the subject, I undertook to carry out: but I had not gone two sunlongs, before, casting my eyes back, I observed the same spy that had once before seized me, and occasioned me trouble, following me with a quick pace. This threw me into a very singular dilemma, which threatened in an instant to overturn the whole project for our deliverance.

and consign me to a violent punishment of more embittered slavery. The moment was precious, and I did not waste it. My mind struggled hard at the instant, and I succeeded. I observed an Englishman washing cloaths by the sea; and it occurred to me, that my going to him, and getting him to help me to wash the canvas, would deceive the spy, and it had the desired effect. As we were washing it, he came, and stood upon the rock just above our heads, to watch our motions; and as soon as we had a little formally washed it, took and spread before his face upon the top of the rock to dry. He stayed his own time, and then marched off, leaving me fully satisfied my manœuvre had succeeded. But still I judged it necessary to be further guarded; and therefore fearing he might be in ambush for me, took the canvas, when dry, and very fairly carried it back into the city; and acquainted my accomplices of the matter, which somewhat discouraged them at first, but they were still determined to persevere.

We comforted and encouraged one another, and entered into council to settle where and how we should meet that night, when we should put our boat together, and where put to sea. We fixed on eleven at night to meet in a valley, encompassed by two hedges, about half a mile from the sea; and we dispersed different ways, to prevent suspicion, till the time appointed.

It may be asked what I did with my shop and goods, on my having resolved upon this adventure, and seeing our scheme going on prosperously? To this I reply, that I paid my patron my wonted visits, kept fair correspondence with him, and duly paid his demands; but at the same time privately carried off my goods as fast as I could, and turned all into ready money. I had a trunk, with a false bottom into which I put what gold and silver I had; and into the body of the trunk whatever else it would hold, or was worth taking such care of; and this trunk I privately committed to the fidelity of our minister Mr. Newton, who took charge of it, and faithfully secured, and carefully brought it over, and as honestly delivered it to me as soon as he knew I was come back to Scotland.

As soon as we were met all together at the appointed place, we began to execute our intended design. We had hid several of our materials near the top of the hill, where grew a small fig-tree, which we had marked in our eye, as judging it would be useful to strengthen the keel of our

boat. Two of our company were therefore immediately dispatched to saw it down, and bring it, and the parcels of our boat there deposited, away with them to the valley where our work was to be finished. But they had scarcely got to the place, when we heard dogs bark at the top of the hill; and, indeed, two men, with dogs, came very near them; but they lay close and still; and they passed without making any discovery; and then our men bestirred themselves, and brought away the fig-tree, and the other materials deposited there, and came to us.

And now we had once more brought the scattered limbs of our boat into one place. It was no time to trifle, and therefore we all buckled to our work in good earnest; but were so high some that were at work in the neighbouring gardens, that we could hear them speak; and therefore we acted by signs, and pointed, and pulled, and nodded; but were all mutes. It might have been an expedient for the builders of Babel, when their languages were divided, to have carried on their great project by signs; but certainly there was confusion poured out upon their ears and counsels, as well as divisions in their tongues and languages.

The two parts of our keel we soon joined; then opening the timbers, which had already one nail in every joint, we groped for the other hole, and put its nail into it: then opened them at their full length, and applied them to the top of the heel, fastening them with rope-yarn and small cords, and so we served all the joints to keep them firm and stable; then we bound small canes all along the ribs lengthways, both to keep them from wearing, and also to bear out the canvas very stiff against the pressing water: then we made notches upon the end of the ribs, or timbers, wherein the oars might ply; and having tied down the seats, and strengthened our keel with the fig tree, we lastly drew on our double canvas case, already fitted; and really the canvas seemed a winding sheet for our boat, and our boat a coffin for us all. This done, four of our company took it upon their shoulders, and carried it down towards the sea, which was about half a mile off.

As we went along, they that were in the gardens heard us passing by, and called to us, Who comes there? But it was dark, and we had no mind to prate; and therefore, without any answer, we silently held on our way.

When we came to the sea-side, we immediately stripped ourselves naked, and putting our cloaths into the boat,

carried it and them as far into the sea as we could wade and this we did, lest our tender boat should be torn against the stones or rocks; and then all seven of us got into her. But here we soon found our skill in calculating the lading of our vessel failed us; for we were no sooner embarked, than she was ready to sink under us, the water coming in over the sides. At last one, whose heart most failed him, was willing to be left out; and rather hazard the uncertain torments of the land, than certainly be drowned at sea. Then we made a second experiment; but still she was so deep laden, that we all concluded there was no venturing out to sea. At length another went ashore, and then she held up her head very stoutly, and seemed hearty enough for our voyage. It was time now to commit ourselves and vessel to the waves, under the protection of God; and taking a solemn farewell of our two companions, whom we left behind, and wishing them as much happiness as could be hoped for in slavery, and they to us as long a life as could be expected by men apparently going to their graves, we launched out upon the 30th of June, in the year of our Lord 1782, a night for ever to be remembered with the following bill of lading: John Anthony, William Adams, John Jephys, John Willson, William Oakley, and myself.

We were now at sea, without helm or pilot, without anchor, tackle, or compass. Our number was but small, our work was great; we could not afford one idle hand, nor one idle finger. The employment of the sixth man was more easy, but necessary, which was to free the boat of the water which by degrees leaked through our canvas.

We laboured the harder that night, because we would gladly be out of the ken of our old masters next day; but when day appeared, we were yet within sight of their ships that lay in the haven and road, and off the land: but our boat being small, and lying close and snug upon the sea, either was not at all discovered, or else seemed something that was not worth the taking up. A little hope in the midst of great fears made us double and redouble our diligence; we tugged at the oars like those who were chained to the galleys, because we had no mind to be slaves to our old patrons in their galleys. But we soon found our want of forecask; for our bread, which was to be the staff of our decayed strength, had laid soaking in the salt water, and was quite spoiled; and our fresh water in the bottles stunk

of the tanned skins and owze, having lain in the salt water, which made it nauseous. But yet that hope which hovered over us, and flattered us that we should one day mend our commons, sweetened all again. So long as bread was bread, we complained not. Three days with good husbandry it lasted; but then pale famine (which is the worst shape death can be painted in) stared us in the face: and there was no substitute for bread at sea. At land, the roots or grass, the tops of trees, and the vilest excrements, have served to stop the clamour of a ravenous stomach; but that which slaves despised, we should have admired and prized. Water, indeed, we might have, either cold or hot; we had choice, but it was a hard choice; either the cold salt-water out of the sea, or that warmer, which had been strained through our bodies, and that we chose of the two; but we must not have that after a while, unless we could first accept the other; and the misery was, these did not alluage our thirst, but increase it; nor increase our strength, but diminish it; yet these were the means of life. Strange means, that would destroy the end.

The wind was also full against us; and we were now so dispirited, that we debated whether we should bear up with the wind, or make the best of our way, and row against it? That is, whether it was not better to go back to Algiers with ease, than painfully make towards freedom? Liberty, however, preponderated the scale; and confident that Providence would relieve us, we resolved not to return; but whilst we had life, and strength, and breath, we would struggle with it.

A second great inconveniency was, that our labour was without intermission; though we advanced not forwards at many strokes, yet cessation had driven us backwards. The poor centinel that stands upon the watch, comforts himself that another will relieve him, but we had none to take the toil off our hands, and give us respite; we might shift our places, but not our pains.

A third great evil that lay fore upon us, was the extremity of the heat by day. The season was raging hot, being the beginning of July; the climate was hot; we wanted fresh water to cool the heat; and all these made it almost insupportable to our bodies, and our little or no hope (which now like a candle burnt down to the socket) made it grievous to our souls. One small help we had (if it may be so called) that the man, who emptied the boat of salt water, threw it upon the bodies of the rest to cool them; but this was a miserable re-

me ; for our bodies were so bleached between the scorching sun and cooling water, that they rose in blisters all over.

If any should be so inquisitive as to ask by what directions we steered our course, that we did not tack about insensibly in the night, or even day, he must know, that for the day, one of the company had a pocket dial, which supplied the place of a compass, even well enough for such a vessel and such mariners. By night, when the stars appeared, we had our advice from them; and when they disappeared we guessed our way by the motion of the clouds.

In this sad and woeful plight we continued four day and nights. On the fifth day we were on the brink of despair, and all hope that we should be saved utterly perished; and now, as persons despairing of the end, we ceased to pursue the means, laid by our oars, and left off our labour. Either we had no strength left, or were loth to throw away that little we had to no purpose ; only we kept still emptying the boat ; loth to drown, loth to die, yet knew no ways to avoid death. When the end is removed, all means perish with it. But whilst we were at this dead ebb of hope, as we lay hulling up and down, we discovered a turtle not far from us asleep in the sea. When the great Drake discovered the Spanish Plate-fleet, he could not have rejoiced more. Once again we be-thought ourselves of our oars; and now our little boat shewed itself to be of the right breed of Algiers, made of piratic timber, and to its poor ability would become a corsair. We silently rowed to our prey, took it into the boat with great triumph, cut off her head, and let her bleed into a pot ; we drank the blood, eat the liver, and sucked the flesh. Warm flesh and hot liquor (except our own) had been a great rarity with us a long time ; it was a novelty, and wonderfully refreshed our spirits, and recruited nature ! We left our fears behind us ; we pickt up some scattered crumbs of hope ; and about noon we discovered, or thought we discovered, land. It is impossible to express the joy and triumph of our elevated souls at this apprehension. It brought fresh blood into our veins, fresh colour into our pale cheeks ; we looked not like men awaked from sleep, nor like captives broke from the chains of Algiers, but like persons raised from the dead.

Yet still we wrought hard. Hope did us that kindness, that it put us upon an earnest desire to see whether we were deceived or not. After some further labour, we

grew more confident, and at last we were satisfied it was land. I hope I shall never forget what sense we had of God's goodness upon that assurance. Extremes equally annoy, and sometimes insatuate the mind. They tell us, in Greenland, the extremity of cold will make iron stick to the fingers, as our experience assures us what extremity of heat will do; for now, like distracted persons, we all leaped into the sea, quitting our boat, and being all good swimmers, we there bathed, and cooled our parched bodies; an adventure which, if well considered, had much folly and danger in it; for we were now at the mercy of the sharks, which might have amused themselves with shearing off a leg or an arm; and our over-heated bodies were open to receive the impressions of that cold element; but as we never considered our danger, God delivered us from the ordinary effects of such folly; we presently returned to our boat, and being both wearied with labour, and cooled a little by the bathing, we all lay down to sleep with as much unconcern as if we had been in our beds on terra firma.

Being thus refreshed, we found new strength for our work. We tugged the harder at the oar, because we hoped before long to sleep upon a more stable element. But we made our way but very slowly; and when we cast up the account of our progress, found that we had gone but a short distance in a long time. Towards evening we discovered another island. The first we saw was Majorca, and the next Fromentere. All the night we rowed very hard; and the next day, which was the sixth of July, we kept within sight of it all day; and about ten o'clock at night we came under the island; but the rocks there were so craggy and steep, that we could not climb up.

While we were under these rocks there came a vessel very near us. Let the reader imagine how loth we were to lose all our toil and travail, to forego our deliverance, to have this rich mercy which God had put into our hands, wrestled out of them again by some Turkish pickaroon or corsair, that are always skimming those seas. It concerned us therefore to lie close. They passed by; and we gently moved along the coast as near the shore as we durst, till we found a convenient place where we might thrust in our weather-beaten boat. When we were come to land, we were not insensible of our deliverance, though we were as men newly awakened out of a dream.

We had had no food since we eat the liver, and drank the blood of the turtle; and therefore, leaving four of our company with the boat, the other two, viz. John Anthony, and myself, were sent out to scout abroad for fresh water; and the rather we were sent, because this John Anthony could speak both the Spanish and Italian languages very perfectly; and I knew as much of the Spanish as might serve to express our wants and desires. We were not far gone before we came into a wood, and we were in a wilderness in our thoughts which way to take. He would needs go one way, and I another. Good God! what a frail impotent thing is man! That they whom common dangers by sea had united, should now about our own wills fall out at land! And yet thus we did. He gave me reproachful words, and it was well we came not to blows. But I went my own way, and he seeing me resolute, followed me; and the Providence of God, not dealing with us according to our forwardness, followed us both. This way led to a watch tower of the Spaniards, many of which they have upon the sea-coasts, to give the country timely notice of any pickaroons that come ashore to rob and spoil.

When we came within call, fearing the centinel might fire at us, we spoke to him upon the watch; told him our condition, what we were, whence we came, and how we escaped; and earnestly begged of him to direct us to some fresh water, and in the mean time to bestow upon us a little bread. He very kindly threw us down an old mouldy cake; but so long as it was a cake, and not a stone, or a bullet, hunger did not consider its mouldiness. He then directed us to fresh water, which was hard by. We did not stand telling stories; we remembered ourselves. We did not forget our brethren left in the boat: but observing the centinel's directions, hastened to the well, where there was a pail with strings to draw the water with. We drank some, and eat a bit of our cake; but the passage was so refused, that we had much ado to force our throats to relieve our craving stomachs. We returned to our boat, and, welcomed by our companions, acquainted them with the good success of our embassy, and we all prepared to go to the well.

As we were going, or rather creeping or crawling, towards the well, another quarrel arose among us, the recol-

lection of which is so ungrateful, that I shall bury it in silence, the best tomb for controversies.

When it was clear day, we addressed ourselves once more to the man upon the watch-tower, intreating him to direct us the readiest way to the next house or town, where we might find relief. He civilly pointed us towards a house about two miles off, whither with joyful hearts we began to travel; but our feet were very raw, and blistered; and long it was before we could overcome the tediousness of these two miles. When we came to the house, the owner espying us, concluding, by our shabby garb, that we were some pillaging rascals, presented a fowling piece at us, and charged us to stand. The foremost of our company, who could speak the language well, meekly told him he might spare that language, that we were not able, if we had so wicked a will, nor inclined, if we were able, to offer him the least injury; that we were a company of poor creatures, whom the wonderful Providence of God had rescued from the slavery of the Algerines, and hoped he would shew mercy to the afflicted. The honest farmer, moved with our relation, sent us out bread, water, and olives, with which, when we had refreshed ourselves, we lay down, and rested three or four hours in the field, and returning thanks for his charity, prepared to crawl away at our lame rate. He seeing us thankful beggars, enlarged his civility to us, called us into his house, and gave us good warm bean pottage, which seemed to me the most pleasant food I ever eat in my life. Our leave once more taken, we advanced towards the city of Majorca, which from this place is about ten miles. No water could we meet with upon our way; but towards evening we discovered a person drawing water at a well; we halted to him, and he drew some for us. That was our supper, and there was our lodging for that night.

The next morning we came into the suburbs of the city. The strangeness of our attire, being bare-footed, bare-legged, and having nothing but loose coats over our shirts, drew a crowd of enquirers about us, to know who we were, whence we came, and whither we went. We gave them a particular account of our deliverance, with its circumstances; and they, as willing to pity as to know our estate, and as ready to relieve as pity, accommodated us for the present with food. They gave us wine, and drink,

and whatever else they thought likely to recover our exhausted spirits; but told us we must tarry in the suburbs, till the governor had notice that such strangers were arrived. He had soon information of us, and we had soon a command to appear before him. He examined us about many affairs; and asked what men of war the Algerines had at sea, what strength they had at land, and was most curious and exact in satisfying himself about our escape, our boat, and our hazards at sea; wherein when we had fully obeyed him, he ordered we should be maintained at his own cost, until we could have a passage to our own country.

In the mean while the people gathered us money to buy us cloaths, and shoes, and we wanted nothing that nature called for but thankful hearts to God. After thanking in the most public manner our generous and humane benefactors, I shipped myself on board the *Camel*, for London, whither, when I arrived, I had fresh proofs of the merciful Providence of God, not only in the preservation of my own person, but also in that of my poor mother and daughter.

I had now been absent from Old England almost ten years, upwards of five of which I had spent in a tedious thralldom of slavery; therefore, as all worldly things are subject to change, it is to be expected I found my family affairs much altered; but, however, through the benevolence of the Almighty, not so bad, but I had infinite reason to be thankful for his manifold mercies.

THE END.



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